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ABSTRACT

The effects of land reform programs on community development and the overall socioeconomic development in the three Near Eastern countries of Jordan, Iraq, and Syria were assessed. Land reform was defined as the: redistribution of rights in land ownership and management; reform in the land tenancy patterns; and land settlements, including the transformation of nomadism to settled farming, particularly on newly reclaimed land. Measures taken by Lebanon and Saudi Arabia in the area of nomadic settlement and land reclamation were also analyzed. The analysis of the effects was only a preliminary one due to the lack of adequate empirical scientific evidence on the subject. It has shown that among the main purposes of undertaking land reform measures were: accomplishing an equal distribution of agricultural wealth, alleviating social injustices in peasant societies, and economic growth. However, the majority of the measures in the region were not considered successful. Among the effects of land reform were: the regulation of the relationship of peasants with their landlords; the opportunity for peasants to become land owners; the substantial increase in agricultural land; an increase in the farmer's income and agricultural production; in Iraq and Syria drastic measures affected very deep rooted values and traditions; and since human development was not emphasized, social services were still lacking. (NQ)

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Seminar 6: Rural Social Change and Land Reforms

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Seminar # 6

Salah M. Yacoub

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Land Reform and Its Effects on Rural Community Development in Selected Near Eastern Countries[x]

By

Salah M. Yacoub[xx]

I. Introduction

term 'land reform' can generally be conceived of in two different ways[(1)]: (1) it may mean the redistribution of land properties for the benefit of small farmers and agricultural workers. In this connexion, the reform may involve actual division of large estates into small holdings or the transfer of ownership of the land from landlords to tenant-cultivators of small holdings, or (2) it may be used to advocate reform as a comprehensive policy, including not only 'opportunity of ownership', but also variety of other measures which should go along with it in order to improve the agrarian structure and help rural families flourish[(2)]. In this context, 'land reform' will not differ from 'agrarian reform' since the emphasis in both is placed on the need for an 'integrated approach' to accomplishing of social and economic development.

The concept of land reform, as it is used here, will include: (1) re-distribution of rights in land ownership and management, (2) re-form in the patterns of land tenency, and (3) land settlements, including the transformation of nomadism to settled farming, particularly on newly reclaimed areas. The provision, or re-forming, of all related institutional services is viewed to be essential for successful land reform measures, but was not considered as a part of the definition of 'land reform' for the sake of clarity and prespective.

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[x] These countries mainly include: Jordan, Iraq and Syria. However, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia will be only partially treated. This manuscript was approved for publication as Journal Number_____by the Faculty of Agricultural Sciences of the American University of Beirut

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(1) Doreen Warriner, Land Reform and Development in the Middle East (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1957, pp. 3-7.

(2) Examples of such measures would be the creation or re-forming of related institutional services such as credit, cooperative marketing, agricultural extension, water rights, and rural services of all kinds.

One of the main purposes of this report is to assess the effects of land reform programs on community development and overall social and economic development in three Near Eastern countries namely, Jordan, Iraq and Syria. The analysis of these effects will be only a preliminary due to the lack of adequate empirical scientific evidence on the subject. There is, therefore, a need for further investigation of this question within the context of different types of agrarian structures for the countries involved. Other countries in this region(3) were excluded from the report due to the fact that none of these countries has had any land reform , except in Saudi Arabia and Lebanon where some attempts have been made by the former in the area of nomadic settlement, and by the latter in the area of land reclamation. The measures taken by the two countries in connexion with these two areas will be analyzed in part III, section (c) of this report.

II. Some Important Features of the Three Main Countries Studied

Although the countries selected share a common historical background and they may be similar in their stages of economic development, they differ in their oil resources, political systems, land resources, and physiographical features. There are also some variations in population density in relation to land which might affect their potential rates of economic growth.

Table 1 gives some of the population characteristics for the three countries studied.

Table 1. Population characteristics for the three countries studied*

Country	Total Population (in millions)	Natural Rate of growth	Rural Population (% of total)	Bedouins Populations (% of total)
Jordan	2.13 (1966)	3.35%	56.1 (1961)	3.8-5.6 (1965)
Iraq	9.5 (1969)	2.6%	55.8 (1965)	2.4-3.3 (1965)
Syria	5.9 (1969)	2.4%	70.0 (1966)	7.4 (1965)

(3) These are: Kuwait, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, South Yemen, and Yemen.

* Sources: UN., Studies on Selected Development Problems in Various Countries in the Middle East, 1970., pp. 106-108 and Khalil Hammouda, Progress Reports No. 2 and 3 on Agrarian Reform in Syria (1966) and Iraq (1967) respectively.

Some differences also existed between the countries studied with respect to the agricultural sector of their economics. In Jordan, though agriculture dominates the economy, the cultivable land is small as compared with the total area of the country(4). In 1964, the arable land in Jordan was estimated at 13 million donums of which 20.9 percent was not cultivated at all because of water shortage; 30.1 percent was left fallow and the remaining 49 percent was cultivated (see Table 2). Out of the actually cultivated area 11.8 percent was irrigated and 88.2 percent was rain-fed. However, the total cultivated land comprised 6.5 percent of the total area of Jordan.

Table 2. Agricultural land distribution in Jordan by type of farming in 1964

	Area in thousand donums	Percent of total
Irrigated	759	5.8
Rainfed	5616	43.2
Fallow	3909	30.1
Not cultivated	2716	20.9
Total	13000	100

Source: Ministry of Information, The Jordanian Economy, Its Volume and Progress, (Amman: Ministry of Information), 1966, p. 19.

The agricultural output of Jordan fluctuates widely from year to year, depending chiefly on rainfall and other seasonal factors. Consequently, the distribution of the total agricultural income from the principle agricultural products varied. However, the overall gross value of agricultural production ranged between 18.34 and 37.86 million Jordanian Dinars during 1960-1964(5).

(4) Jordan's area is 94740 square kilometers

(5) Department of Statistics, The National Accounts 1959-1965 (Amman: Department of Statistics Press) 1965, p. 18

Contribution of the agricultural sector to employment and national income cannot be overlooked. Nearly 138 thousand people were employed in agriculture and produced J.D. 25.30 million worth of goods. Percentage wise, while providing employment for 35.3 percent of total labor force, agriculture contributed 22.8 percent of Gross Domestic Product. Its contribution in 1965 was J.D. 34.11 million or 22.6 percent of Gross Domestic Product.(6)

In Iraq, the cultivable land is estimated at 48,000,000 donums of the total area(7), of which 16,000,000 are located in the rainfed area, and the remainirg 32,000,000 donums are located in the irrigated area. The actual cultivated area at present is 23,000,000 donums utilized according to the fallow system (50% of the area is cultivated with winter crops and 12% with summer crops; in other words the utilized area amounts to 62% annually of the irrigated area).

The total agricultural land in Iraq can be estimated at 32.1 million donums, while the potential land which can be brought under cultivation in the future was estimated at double the present amount. Under the existing farming patterns, the present land supply is cultivated Nir and Nir, which means that half of the land is always left fallow every year(8).

Agriculture is the corner stone of Iraq economy. In fact, excluding oil revenue, it constituted, in 1956 and before land reform was implemented, the largest percentage of the national income; being 24 percent as compared to 27 percent for oil industry. In addition, except for oil, Iraq's principle exports were agricultural(9).

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(6) Ibid., p. 3

(7) The total area of Iraq is estimated at 453 million square kilometers or approximately 181 million donums.

(8) Khalil A. Hammouda, "Progress Report No. 3" on Agrarian Reform in Iraq, 1967, p. 4.

(9) Mohammed M.A. Ahmed, "An Evaluation of Land Tenure Reform in Iraq", Unpublished M.S. Thesis (Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma), 1961, p. 12.

Syria is a predominantly agricultural country. The total populations deriving their earnings from agriculture was estimated at about 70% in 1966. The total agricultural land, has been estimated at about 15,250,000 hectars, of which about 4,389,000 hectars only were utilized for agriculture in 1966. During that year, only 657,000 hectars were irrigated, while the rest were mainly rainfed land. Thus, the average rainfall per year plays an important role in determining the agricultural production of the country.(10)

Land tenure classes in the Near Eastern countries as a whole, can be placed in three categories(11): (1) the land owners who may be either shaiks or small land-owners. Their exact number and distribution is not known, although the number is now increasing, especially in Iraq and Syria, because of the redistribution of land. Rights and duties of the landlord consist of determining which land was suitable for cultivation, providing peasants with the seeds needed and giving them the right to use irrigation facilities and discussing with them the methods of farming to be used, (2) the Sirkals (managers) who constituted a small group. They are persons who organized tribesmen on a share tenancy basis and were supposed to carry out the arrangements made between the landlord and the peasant, to direct the latter, and to cooperate with him in protecting the crops, and (3) the fellaheen (peasants) who may be either sharecroppers or farm wage workers. Their duties and rights were to sow and harvest, to care for the crops, and to accept suggestions from the landlord or his agent. The Iraqi Law Number 28 for 1933 gave the landlords great authority over the peasants, for the suggestions, recommendations, and decisions concerning cultivation and employment were determined by the former.

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(10) Khalil A. Hammouda, "Progress Report No. 2" on Agrarian Reform in Syria, 1966, p. 2.

(11) Fuad Daali, Relation of the People to the Land in Southern Iraq (Gainesville: The University of Florida Press), 1966, pp. 20-22.

In various countries of the region, classification of agricultural population according to land tenure can not be provided since mixed tenancy is common. Some peasants may be farming part of a holding while others may be operating more than one holding, here in ownership, there in partnership and elsewhere as tenants. Nor is information available regarding the number of tenant farmers, which is thought to be substantial in the three countries under study. The majority of farmers in these countries, though, are owners or co-owners of some part of the land that they farm. The only data available on the various cultivator's groups and their sizes were in connexion with the Jordan Ghor area before the constructing of the East Ghor Canal Project in 1958. The data, which were collected by the 1953 UNRWA Survey revealed that 48% of the farmers in the area were classified as owners as compared to 31% who were classified as tenants. Twenty one percent of the farmers were found to own part and rent part(12).

The most striking feature of the ownership and control pattern of land in all three countries before land reform measures were put into effect, is the concentration of large agricultural holdings in a few hands. Thus, in the Ghor area of Jordan there were 21 tracts with an average size of 27,235 donums. On the other extreme, there were 477 holdings with an average size of 5 donums. Moreover, a large part of the project area was owned by few people, whereas a large number of owners had title to a small part of the project area. To illustrate, 1309 farmers owned 5496 donums, whereas 42 landlords owned an area of 37,026 donums. In other words, 35.68 percent of land owners had title to only 3.47 percent of total area. At the other extreme, 1.15 percent of land owners owned 23.39 percent of total area (See Table 3).

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(12) UNRWA, Jordan-Valley Agricultural Economic Survey (Amman: Mimeographed), 1954, p. 11.

Table 3. Pattern of land ownership in the East Ghor Canal Project area in 1960.

Area in Donums	Land owners		Area owned	
	Number	% of total	Donums	% of total
1 - 9	1309	35.68	5496	3.47
10 - 19	708	19.30	9935	6.28
20 - 29	378	10.31	9069	5.73
30 - 75	866	23.61	39086	24.69
76 - 100	133	3.08	9869	6.23
101 - 500	252	6.87	47815	30.21
501 -1000	32	0.87	21782	13.76
over 1000	10	0.28	15244	9.63
Total	3668	100.00	158296	100.00

Source: Department of Statistics, The East Jordan Valley, A Social and Economic Survey (Amman: Department of Statistics), 1961, p. 155.

Although there are many owner-occupiers in the Ghor Area, the proportion of land farmed by tenants can hardly be less than one-third. This must involve a serious loss of eificiency in land usage besides creating hardship and inequity for many people.

In Iraq, it was found that of the cultivated land in Iraq in 1958-59 there were 3,418 holdings of 1,000 donums or over, and that these, although constituting only 2.0 percent of all the holdings, included 68 percent of all the cultivated land (Table 4). On the other hand, 86 percent of all the holdings in Iraq contained less than 11 percent of the cultivated land. The concentration of ownership and control of agricultural and pastoral land in a few hands and the type of relationship existed between landlord and peasant have led many writers, native and foreign, to characterize Iraq as having a feudal or semi-feudal system.

Table 4. Number, and area of cultivated holdings in Iraq, 1958-1959.

Size in donums	Number of holdings	Area in donums	Percentage of holders	Percentage of area
Less than 100	144,802	2,446,952	86.1	10.5
100 - 999	20,126	5,024,736	11.9	21.5
1,000 and above	3,418	23,327,259	2.0	68.0
Total	168,348	30,798,947	100.0	100.0

Source: Official Agricultural Statistics for Iraq, 1958-1959.

In Syria, before the application of the 1952 agrarian reform law, about half of the agricultural land in Syria was in the hands of the big landlords who owned holdings of 100 hectars and above. In comparison, only 13 percent of the total area was owned by farmers having below than ten hectars (Table 5).

Table 5. Land ownership by size of holdings in Syria, 1952

Size in hectar	Area in hectar	Percentage of total area
Less than 10	1,982,500	13
10 - 99	5,795,000	38
100 and above	7,472,500	49
Total	15,250,000	100

Source: A.H. Abbas, Land and Agrarian Reform in Syria (Damascus: Syria, 1962, p. 38 (in Arabic)

The nature of land ownership and distribution patterns in the three countries called for land reform measures to overcome some of the obstacles that have hindered agricultural development and caused the low standard of living of their farmers. To enable the governments of these countries to make direct attacks on poverty of the landless farmers and to reduce the pressure of the peasants exerted on them for doing so, laws have been passed to deal with the land question. In Iraq and Syria, these laws were directed not only to the distribution of land to peasants but more importantly to the distruction of political influence which the feudal lords, in Iraq and Syria, enjoyed as a result of their ownership of vast areas of land. Such influence was very often used to place obstacles in the way of governmental administration. Thus, one of the main motives of land reform in Iraq and Syria was political. In Jordan, on the other hand, land reform was an integral part of the country's development policy which, in recent years, placed a heavy emphasis on the development of irrigated agriculture. The East Ghor Canal Project, which was initiated in 1958 and almost completed in 1967, has been the principle mainifestation of the efforts exerted in this direction. The objectives of this project was not only to build an irrigation system to bring water to the farmers, but also to set in motion the socio-economic development of the area. In other words, it was meant to improve the land tenure, the pattern of farming operations, the terms of land holdings and the standard of living of the people in the Ghor area(13).

The provisions of the various land reform laws in the countries of the region and the ways these laws were implemented are presented in the following section.

III. Provisions and Implementation of Land Reform Laws:

Since these laws may be related to the three major types of land reform namely, reform in land ownership, reform in land tenancy, and reform related to land reclamation and settlement, the discussion of these laws in this section will be divided in that order.

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(13) Ministry of Information, Water Resources Projects (Ammar.: Hashemite Press), 1966, pp. 13-15.

A. Provisions Related to Land Ownership Reform and their Implementation:

In Iraq, laws concerning land title settlement and related problems were passed. Law number 11 of 1940 (Article 4) established 5,000 donums as the maximum size of land parcels which might be sold and registered officially. The defect of this law was mainly that the government permitted holdings so large. Laws Number 4 of 1951 and Number 52 of 1952 allowed the government to distribute small holdings of the reclaimed state land to the landless people. The size of each holding was 100 donums of easily irrigated areas and 200 donums in areas irrigated by pumps. The later law also allowed farmers to apply for loans from the Agricultural bank.(14)

Generally speaking, land title settlement in Iraq has been a failure. It has not only been very slow, it has also helped the landlord class to consolidate its power and to resist land reform. Moreover, personal and political influences on the settlement commissions have always been strong and effective.

In addition, ownership rights to state land were not transferred solely to farmers. According to Laws Number 43 of 1951 and Number 52 of 1952 graduates of the Iraqi agricultural schools and retired officers of the army and the police forces were entitled to own state land, provided that the State Land Committee was satisfied with their ability and desire to engage in agriculture. The fact is that such men have proved to be less interested than the farmers in cultivating the land.

The above laws, therefore, failed to put an end to the problem and people's pressure on the government to face the problem more realistically continued. On the 14 of July, 1958, a new revolutionary government was announced and on September 30, 1958, the Agrarian Reform Law Number 30 was passed. The law and its amendments (as of December 31, 1964) deal with limitations on the size of agricultural landholdings, formation of agricultural cooperative associations, making of agricultural contracts, and definition of the rights of the agricultural worker. Concerning the limitations of the size of agricultural holdings, the law placed a maximum ceiling of 1000 donums of the irrigated areas and 2000

(14) Baali, op. cit., p. 57

donums of the rain fed area. The excess land possessed by the land owners will be seized by the government within ten years following the enactment of the law. However, until the time comes for the complete seizure of the excess land, proprietors may continue to make appropriate use of the agricultural land they possess. Owners will be entitled to compensation for their land, immovable property, pumps, tools, and machinery which the government may decide to take over. The compensation is to be paid either in cash if the value is no more than 1,000 dinars ($ 2,800), or in government bonds redeemable within 20 years if the amount was up to 10,000 dinars, and within 40 years if the amount exceeds 10,000 dinars(15).

The seized land will be then distributed to the landless farmers who tilled the land as sharecroppers. The size of the distributed holdings was determined by the law to be 30-60 donums of irrigated area and 60-120 donums of the rain fed area. One who receives an allotment of land must be an Iraqi, an adult, and a farmer by profession. Priority was given to those who are actually cultivating the land, and the new land holder must pay the established price, plus 20 percent of that price, in equal installments spread over a forty-year period*. Interest of one percent annually is to be charged on the unpaid balance. Moreover, within five years of the date of acquiring the land the new settler must bring it under cultivation or his title to the land will be revoked and he will be considered a tenant. Those who are current in all their payments have the right to transfer the land title, provided that five years have passed since the date of acquirement.

As a result of the Agrarian Reform Law, the total area of expropriated land, as of May, 1964, was 7,020,123 donums. Of this total, 2,022,035 donums (28.8 percent) were distributed to 38,766 Iraqi peasants(16).

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(15) Ibid., pp. 58-59.

(16) Ibid., p. 60

* A decree, however, was issued in 1969 which gives the land free to beneficiaries; thus, relieving land holders from the payment of due balance (Agrarian Reform and 17th July Revolution, 1969, p. 7)

Land Reform beneficiaries were required by law to form and join a cooperative society. To facilitate forming cooperatives, a special Department for Cooperatives and Agricultural Affairs was created in 1959 and attached to the Ministry of Agrarian Reform. The organization of agricultural cooperatives in Iraq started in 1961. The total number of cooperatives established until 1965-66 was 364 associations with 43,185 members covering 3,056,910 donums. From 1965-66, these cooperatives were able to extend 96,888 I.D. in loans for the beneficiaries. The Cooperative Societies Law No. 27 of 1944 was replaced by Law No. 73 of 1959 which granted cooperatives many privileges. The Cooperative Bank Law No. 65 of 1956 was replaced by Law No. 163 of 1959 which ensured loans to the cooperative members. The Agricultural Bank Law was amended by Law No. 126 of 1964 to facilitate credit through agricultural cooperatives to the agrarian reform beneficiaries. An agreement was signed in December 1965 by the Government of Iraq and the United Nation's Special Fund. This plan is to enable the government to train 150 trainees in the field of cooperatives and 70 trainees in the field of agricultural extension(17).

In Syria, when the Egyption-Syrian unity took place in 1958 Agrarian Reform Law Number 161 was enforced. This was the starting point of the application of agrarian reform measures in Syria but it did not last long. The unity was broken in 1961 and the big landlords returned to their land. The enforcement of Law 161 was stopped in 1962 by decree number 3 but this decree was abolished and was replaced by the 1962 decree number 2 which raised the upper ceiling of land to satisfy the landlords. In 1963, the new revolution took place and the 1958 agrarian reform law number 161 was enforced again with the additional amendment decree 88 which gave the small farmers and the landless group many advantages. The decree 88 places the maximum ceiling of holdings according to the availability of water, the average annual rainfall and the type of soil. Thus, on irrigated land the ceiling varied from 15 to 55 hectars depending on the location and the method of irrigation used. On rain fed land where fruit and olive trees are grown, the ceiling ranged from 40 to 50 hectars depending on the age of the tree. On rain fed land for agricultural field crops, the ceiling varied from 80 to 300 hectars depending on the average annual rainfall in the area(18).

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(17) Hammouda, "Progress Report No. 3", p. 57

(18) Sadoon Hammadi, Comments on the Results of Agrarian Reform in Syria (Damascus: Planning Institute for Economic and Social Development) Research Paper No. 1, July 196[illegible], p. 46.

The excess land with all necessary pumps and agricultural equipment necessary to agricultural production is seized by a special committee. It is then distributed to the landless farmers. The size of the new farm should not exceed 8 hectars of irrigated land or land having trees, or 30 hectars on rain fed land where the average annual rain is more than 350 millimeters, and 45 hectars of the rain fed land where the average rain fall is less than 350 millimeters(19).

According to the law, the beneficiaries should be Syrians and their original occupations should have been farming whether small owner, tenant, share-cropper, or agricultural wage labourer. Priority is given to those who have more children and less income.

The beneficiaries have to pay ¼ of the total value of the land to the cooperative treasury to which they belong in installments over 20 years. This is to strengthen the capital of the cooperative and to make it able to carry out its role successfully.

The legal aspect of Syria's agrarian reform is now approaching it's final stages, as the program has been immensely speeded up recently. Requisition of land above the ceilings is almost finished. According to official figures, the landlords who came under Law Number 161 amounted to 3240. This number was increased by an additional 1372 land owners who came under decree 88. The total land to be seized according to Law Number 161 is 1, 221, 352 hectars. This area was increased by 48,767 hectars by decree 88. This brings the total agricultural land to be seized to about 1,270,119 hectars which amounted to ¼ of the total agricultural land in the country. In December 1966, though, only about 84% of this total land subject to the law was actually seized(20), most of which was already distributed to farmers. Up to now, though, there are very few villages where the individual boundaries have been established and the title of the land actually transferred to the farmer.

Non-voluntary agricultural cooperative organizations were established by the beneficiairies and were attached to the Ministry of Agrarian Reform. In December 1968, there were about 441 cooperatives covering 561 villages and having 24,935 members.(21)

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(19) Hammouda, "Progress Report No. 2", p. 50

(20) Ibid., p. 5

(21) Ibid., p. 83

In Jordan, in order to distribute the irrigable lands to small land owners, and to help the farmers utilize the new irrigated lands and attain a better standard of living in the East Ghor area, the government promulgated, early in 1958, The East Ghor Canal Project Law. This law, which provided for the creation of the East Ghor Canal Authority, was substituted later by the East Ghor Canal Temporary Law of 1962. The Authority, according to article XIII of this temporary law, is charged with the responsibilities for "planning, constructing, operating and maintaining the East Ghor Canal Project as well as carrying out activities relative thereto..."(22). Hence, the overall area to be served with water, and the size and shape of the farm units, have been determined on the basis of soil and land classification surveys. Where the land is best, 30 donums have been determined to be an economically-sized farm. Where there are minor defficiencies in the slope of the land or its classification, the appropriate size has been increased to 50 donums. The maximum size of a farm unit is set at 200 donums(23).

Besides limiting the size of individual ownership, the law specifies the qualifications of recipient farmers who will be selected by "Farmers Selection Committee". First priority was given to holders who themselves exploit their lands. Second priority was assigned to professional farmers residing in the project area. Third priority was given to farmers from the district inhabitants. Professional farmers from inhabitants of other districts were given fourth priority; and finally a fifth priority was given to holders who utilize their land by lease or share cropping within the project area.(24)

To carry out its activities properly, the East Ghor Canal Authority carried out an assessment of land values and seized lands exceeding the allowable maximum limit specified by the law. The area of the land thus

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(22) East Ghor Canal Temporary Law, Article III, Paragraph A., p. 4

(23) Ibid., p. 7

(24) Mohammad A.L. Mallallah, "The East Ghor Canal Project", unpublished M.A. Thesis (American University of Beirut, Beirut) 1968, p.126.

appropriated is 175,331 donums. At present, though, some 120,000 donums are benefiting from the project. This area was divided into 3424 distributable farm units, each having an average of 35 donums. By the end of March 1968, 3395 farms of the total distributable units were allotted to farmers. The value of the appropriated area was appraised at J.D. 2,393,451. Compensations are being paid in annual installments over 10 years. A total of J.D. 1,425,267 has been settled by April, 1968(25).

On the other hand, farmers who owned less than the minimum received additional land to achieve a total number of donums ranges from 30 to 50 depending on the class of land. Thus, these land owners bought the supplementary land from the authority, receiving in the meantime title to these lands. The total amount due to the Authority from the recipient farmers is J.D. 2,631,467 of which J.D. 230,455 was collected up to April 1968. In this manner fragmented and large land holdings in the project area disappeared(26).

B. Provisions Related to Land Tenancy Reform

This type of reform is considered to be less radical, in terms of social and political changes, compared to reform in land ownership. Iraq and Syria have both included this type of reform as part of their land reform legislations. It provided the tenants with security of tenure, protected them from eviction, fixed rental value below market level, eliminated intermediaries and prohibited subleasing, and regulated the relationship between the owners of the land and share croppers(27). The Agrarian Reform Law of Iraq, for example, states that agricultural contracts between the land holders and the agricultural workers must be arranged as of the beginning of the agricultural season. The landowner is responsible for the management and providing the worker with arable land, seeds, and

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(25) Land Department, East Ghor Canal Authority, The Monthly Report, April 13, 1968.

(26) Ibid.

(27) M. Riad El-Ghonemy, "Land Reform and Economic Development in the Near East". Land Economics, Vol. XLIV, No. 1, February 1968, p. 41.

irrigation facilities; while the worker, on the other hand, is responsible for giving the land the necessary care, using the best possible agricultural methods, and harvesting the crops. Syrian law has also made a similar provision. In Jordan, the temporary law of the East Ghor Canal guards against fragmentation of farms by permitting group ownership. Thus, when the farm owner dies, his heirs will collectively own the farm. They are not allowed to divide it among themselves. In this connexion the law does not provide for the way the collectively owned farm is to be managed.

In the agrarian reform laws of Iraq and Syria, there is no provision which requests the landlord to provide the tenant and share-cropper with adequate housing. Most of the share-croppers and agricultural workers are living in inadequate houses. In addition, the tenants and share-croppers are not entitled to use a certain percentage of the land and the right to water for producing food for themselves and their families. No provisions were made to allow compensation for tenants for any improvement they may want to make on the land.

C. Provisions Related to Land Reclamation and Settlement and their Implementation

In Iraq, the development of new lands and their distribution among small farmers started earlier than the other types of land reform described above. The Dujaila scheme which started in 1945 serves as an example of such early projects. The national impact of these projects, was not great. In the last ten years, however, public investment in settlement schemes on a large scale in some countries of the region has been accelerated through investment in land reclamation, irrigation, drainage and infrastructural work. These schemes, though, were implemented as part of the national development plans of these countries.

While no government in the region has formulated a clear and unified policy for land settlement and transformation of nomadism to settled farming, with concomitant systematized programs, a number of measures have been taken specifically to improve the content of Bedouin life, and to encourage the Bedouin to settle. These measures can be grouped under (1) social welfare; (2) land distribution and agricultural improvement, and (3) special settlement[28]. The two groups of measures are more

(28) A detailed discussion of these measures which were taken by various countries of the region appeared in a recent article entitled "Nomadic Populations in Selected Countries in the Middle East and Related Issues of Sedentarization and Settlement", Studies on Selected Development Problems, in various Countries in the Middle East, 1970 (UN: New York), 1970, pp. 113-115.

relevant to this report than the first group; therefore, a brief discussion of them will be presented below.

Among the measures which contributed to land distribution and agricultural improvement, a special reference is given to those taken in conjunction with agrarian reform and construction of dams for the purpose of implementing irrigation schemes. In Iraq, the Agrarian Reform Law of 1958 has encouraged various nomadic and semi-nomadic groups to settle, especially in the northern Jezirah and in the Badia.

Another important measure by the Iraqi Government was the establishment of about eleven irrigation schemes throughout the country in the years following the Second World War. The largest of these is the Dujaila Project. It brought under irrigation about 250,000 donums of land which were distributed among 1,317 small tribal proprietors and increased the area under cultivation from 12.7 million to 25.6 million donums. Other land reclamation projects included El-Mossiab El-Kabier which has about ½ million donums, El-Wahida, and the 14th of Ramadan.

In Jordan, renovation of 35 old Roman cisterns located in the northern part of the Badia helped to reclaim about 72,000 donums of desert which was turned into range lands. Many Bedouins were able to settle in villages near these renovated cisterns. In addition, the Water Resource Development Department has constructed dams in the southern part of the country and was able to reclaim about 628,000 donums and help settle thousands of Bedouin.

Drilling of 16 deep wells by the Central Water Authority in the Southern part of the desert, in 1962, helped to reclaim an area of 60,000 square kilometers. The area became in 1964 the site of the Jafr Pilot Project for Bedouin Settlement. The results of this undertaking, if successful, may have a major impact on the settlement of Bedouins throughout the desert area. Other projects which are still under construction in Jordan are Al-Hussainieh Settlement Project and the Sand Stone Aquifer Project. They will contribute to the reclamation and development of a large desert area through the introduction of modern irrigation systems.

In Syria, the land reform program of September 1958 benefited various tribal groups in the country. Assistance intended for the Bedouins in particular is the concern of the Directorate of Animal Wealth which has assumed the functions of the former General Directorate of Tribes. More and more emphasis is being placed, by the Directorate, on improving livestock, including the Bedouins', and on increasing productivity. Thus, about nine livestock stations were established and contributed to the improvement of animal husbandary throughout the country.

In Saudi Arabia, an important measure taken to encourage sedentarization was the abolition in 1953 of the hema system under which tribes held customary and traditional property rights to range land, including the right to keep out other tribes. The Saudi Arabian Government, in addition, has made itself responsible for facilitating agricultural work for Bedouins and reducing the cost of production. It purchased agricultural machinery and rented it to farmers at rates equivalent to half the operating and maintenance costs. It also provided them with credit for the purchase of water pumps, which may be paid for in installements.

The increasing emphasis placed on agricultural development, which is contingent upon the sedentarization of Bedouins, is reflected in the increasing allocation made to the agricultural and water resources sector in the development budget of Saudi Arabia. Allocations have more than trebled during the last five years, rising from SA Rls 86.6 million in 1964 to SA Rls 398.8 million in 1969. Such a provision will, doubt, help reclaim larger areas of land in the country and put it under cultivation.

More recently, greater emphasis has been placed on the construction of schemes for the settlement of Bedouins in Saudi Arabia. Schemes such as the Wadi Sirhan Settlement Project, the Tabouk Basin Settlement Project and the proposed Harad (King Faisal) Settlement Project are all oriented towards agriculture and were preceeded by extensive land reclamation measures; thus contributing to the reform of a larger area of land throughout the country.

In Lebanon, emphasis was placed in recent years on reclaiming new lands in order to reduce population pressure on agricultural land(29). This was accomplished by establishing an autonomous organization in 1963 under the auspices of the Minister of Agriculture. However, it did not begin its actual work before 1965. The main objective of this new organization is to reclaim lands through: (1) providing the machinery needed for the construction of terraces to prevent erosion, (2) conducting technical and economic studies to determine the most suitable fruit trees to be planted and distributed to farmers at a low price, (3) offering farmers the technical advice needed for land reclamation, planting, and management, and (4) carrying out certain projects such as opening of new agricultural roads in the rural area, land clearing, forestation, and improving pastures on public land(30).

The farmer who wants to reclaim his land should send a request to the regional office of the Green Plan which, in turn, will send a group of technicians to survey the farm and determine the cost. According to the decree No. 6646, the farmer has to deposit in the BCAIF* an initial sum of 18-38% of the total cost of reclaiming his land depending on the total value of the work. This amount is capitalized at seven percent per year and constitutes, at the end of the reimbursement period specified by the decree, the total amount allotted to the work, which does not exceed L.L. 10,000(31). According to this system, all sums of money that are spent by the government will be regained, except of the interest rate.

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(29) The population of Lebanon is estimated at 2¼ million with a population density of 230 per square kilometer. Rural population range between 49% to 50% according to various estimates. Agricultural land is estimated at 330,000 hectars out of which 260,000 is presently cultivated (Nasbous, 1969, p. 160). Hence, the share of each rural person of the agricultural land becomes one fourth of a hectar

(30) Ramiz Sadaka, et. al., "An analytical study of the economic feasability and results of the Green Plan in Lebanon". A Lebanese Ministry of Agriculture Report, April 4, 1966 (in Arabic).

* Banque de Credit Agricole Industrie et Foncier.

(31) Decree No. 6646 of February 10, 1967.

In case of wall construction, which is another aspect of the reclamation process, the Green Plan contribution is similar to that of earth removal; the difference being that the farmer is considered as a contractor, for he hires the amount of labor needed and builds the wall. Later, and after the work is over, the Green Plan will pay him in cash, L.L. 1.50 per square meter of constructed wall. No aid whatsoever is given for the removal of stones(32)

During the last five year (1965-1969), the Green Plan has reclaimed about 9800 hectars at a cost of L.L. 232 per hectar. In addition, it constructed a total area of walls amounted to a little over 2.5 million square meters. Due to a great need for irrigation water, a total of 536 reservoirs were constructed by the end of 1969 and costed about L.L. 1,061,019. Nearly 1,489,000 fruit seedlings were distributed. The beneficiaries, since the actual work started in the Green Plan, numbered 13492(33). The present allocations for this organization will permit it to reclaim an additional area of 16,000 hectars by the end of 1973(34).

Land reform is not an end in itself but a mean to an end. One cannot, therefore, measure successes or failures of the program only on the basis of laws enacted, in relation to each area of reform outlined above, and on whether these laws were implemented, but on the basis of the program's actual contribution to, and role in, rural community development and overall social and economic development of the countries involved. In the following section, an attempt will be made to assess the actual impact of land reform on these various aspects.

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(32) The Green Plan, Integrated Development of the Lebanese Mountain Areas, September, 1969.

(33) Malek Basbous, Annual Report 1969, Republic of Lebanon, Ministry of Agriculture, the Green Plan, Beirut (in Arabic, unpublished).

(34) Malek Basbous, "Reclamation of Agricultural Land", National Development and Agricultural Development in Lebanon, Fourth National Conference for Development, Development Studies Association, Beirut, 1969, p. 160 (for details see pp. 159-180).

IV. Effects of Land Reform on Rural Community Development

It should be remembered, when dealing with this topic, that reliable data are not available, and the available data are hard to disaggregate. Therefore, it has been difficult to determine the impact of agrarian reform with precision. Another reason which contributes to this difficulty, is the fact that reforms under consideration have, in large part, been recent and their full effects, therefore, are difficult to evaluate. In the discussion presented below, however, an attempt is being made to assess the impact of land reform on rural community development and overall social and economic development in the countries under consideration. For convenience, the effects are being treated under two broad categories namely, social and economic.

A. Social Effects

1. The farmer as a land tenant and as a land owner.

As previously shown, more than half of the population of the countries in this region lived in rural areas. Since land ownership was mainly concentrated in the hands of few big landlords, most of the rural population, therefore, were landless and worked either as labourers or, at the best, as land tenants. Before the land reform laws, the land tenure system in these countries was very harsh and unjust to peasants who were exploited by both landlords and middle men. Landlords received as much as 2/3 of the crop. If the farmer was supposed to pay for the services needed for farming, he was forced to either pay exhorbitant interest for the loans he had borrowed or sell the crop before it was harvested at a very low price. In addition, harsh measures were taken in Syria against peasants who wanted to leave their landlord by denying them employment elsewhere, especially if they had any obligation to the landlord.

The land reform laws in Syria and Iraq regulated land tenure by limiting the shares of land and labour to 10% and 50% of the total output respectively. Thus, a fair return was given to the farmer who tilled the land. The period of tenure was set by the law for a minimum of three years. This gave the farmer an opportunity to plan for using the land over the specified period. There was no provision,

though, to allow for the extension of this period if desired by the farmer. In addition, the law did not include any provisions to adjust land rent in case of a crop failure; but in such a case a petition can be submitted to the Ministry of Finance for investigation.

Land reform laws benefited the peasants not only by regulating their relationship with their landlords but also by giving them an opportunity to become real land owners. As we have seen in Part III of this report, approximately 67,000 peasants in Iraq, Syria and Jordan benefited from the law and became land owners. This new condition gave them the opportunity to be on their own, to learn through experience, and to gain self-confidence. The influence of landlords, though, is still prevailing in the northern and southern regions of Iraq inspite of the land reform measures which were implemented there. Traditional tribal relationships are still strong and the chiefs of the tribes who used to rent their lands to farmers are continuing to get their share. The former relationships kept farmers from standing for their rights. Some of them preferred to either leave the land and look for work in towns, or to hand the land over to the chief and remain idle rather than to be in conflict with him. However, in the middle part of Iraq, those who benefited from the law have started to climb the agricultural ladder and made marked progress.

2. Enlisting People's Participation

One of the main elements in community development process is the people's participation for their community's betterment. One way to realize this end is to train them to work as a group through their membership in co-operative societies, farmers' unions or syndicates. In land reform areas, however, this has not been successfully accomplished. The members felt that such organizations did not belong to them since they took no part in initiating them. This was reflected in their negative attitudes towards the cooperative societies which, in turn, slowed down members' participation. On the other hand, the development of cooperatives in the East Ghor area of Jordan was voluntary; and by the end of 1967, there were 22

cooperatives with a total membership of 3196.(35) East Ghor cooperatives were successful in enlisting members' participation, especially in the area of marketing. In 1967, the North Shouneh Marketing Cooperative took over the operation of the citrus plant which was built in the area with the help of the East Ghor Rural Development Project; and the Wadi Yabes Farmers Cooperative was supposed to operate, effective 1968 season, the vegetable plant which was constructed at Wadi Yabes with the help of the United Nations Special Marketing Project Fund(36).

Another way to encourage people's participation is to let them pay for what they get. In Syria, the land was distributed for ¼ of its value. Although, the value was paid over a long period (20 years), it made the beneficiary feel that he paid for the land and hence better be careful not to loose it. Encouraging investment is another development which was put in operation by the Syrian authorities to enlist people's participation. It involved the provision of financial support to investment projects deemed to be feasible on condition that cooperative members contribute at least 50% of total cost of production projects and at least 25% of costs of service projects. In 1965, 15 cooperatives in six Syrian provinces had benefited from this scheme. Total investment amounted to SL 249500 out of which SL 75900 came from the Government and the rest SL 173600 came from cooperative societies. The projects included mainly buying water lifting installations and tractors. Total investment in services projects, such as schools, health centres, roads and drinking water amounted to SL 97200. Cash contribution on part of peasants amounted to SL 25200 in addition to free labour(37). Other ways are followed to encourage the participation of beneficiaries mainly through formation of committees from the beneficiaries, the tenants and the cooperatives to work out an agricultural plan, and through

(35) Malallah, op. cit., p. 153

(36) Ibid., p. 154

(37) Sadoon Hammadi, op. cit., pp. 13-14

encouraging the arrangement of night seminars for labourers to discuss various topics.

3. Engendering Feelings of Security

Before achieving development in a community, the element of security has to be provided to its people. Land reform measures in Syria and Iraq had contributed to this end only to a limited extent. The law in Iraq provided a minimum period of tenure of three years for those who did not benefit from the distributed land and continued to rent it from landowners. This did not give the tenant any security beyond the three years period. Therefore, he would be reluctant to make any effort that would yield later returns. In Syria, it was found that peasants who did not enjoy the full ownership of their land parcels in the 62 villages studied felt insecure and were reluctant to make any improvement on them. On the other hand, a higher security was enjoyed by farmers who had a full ownership of their lands; thus, contributing to higher outputs(38). In the East Ghor Canal Project of Jordan, beneficiaries felt more secure since the previous small owners, who need to bring their holding up to the minimum required size, have to pay for the additional land they acquire; thus, receiving titles from the authority immediately after the completion of their payments.

Another factor contributing to the feeling of security among beneficiaries is the size of their holdings as provided in the laws. Such size is reasonable and can possibly make an adequate economic unit for the average size family.

4. Settling Disputes

Rural communities are characterized as having strong familiar bonds which may develop conflicts among various groups and hampers development efforts. Therefore, it is essential to develop means for avoiding these conflicts or for settling any disputes, particularly in land reform areas. The agrarian reform laws in Iraq and Syria introduced drastic measures which affected very deep rooted values and traditions.

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(38) Ibid., p. 12

The landlords who were in a powerful situation over the years had to give up the excess land they owned to persons who worked for them as labourers. The land rent was fixed by law for the interest of those who tilled it. These measures led to disputes among the members of the community particularly during the preliminary stages when the laws came into effect. The laws provided for a committee headed by a judge at the village level to settle such disputes, and it was able to do so promptly. As to serious disputes, which the committee could not solve, a higher court was set up.

It is needless to say that settling of disputes and setting of harmony among the rural population in land reform areas is essential for their participation in the development of their communities.

5. Housing

As previously mentioned, some countries in the region have carried out land reclamation projects and distributed land to farmers or Bedouins to help them settle. Unless, the project provides housing for the beneficiaries, it would be difficult to convince them to move and settle down. Therefore, land reform in these countries takes on special significance as a factor of improvement in rural housing. In Jordan, in land settlement projects for Bedouins, houses are provided for those who get their share of land. In Syria and Iraq, rural housing receives its chief impetus from land reform not only indirectly as a mean for raising income and levels of living in rural areas but also more directly by making available expropriated land for housing and settlement programs. Expropriated land is released to villagers for housing free of charge. In addition, free engineering and technical services for home construction, subsidized building materials and cheap credit for housing are provided(39). Reclamation and resettlement programs in rural areas have also provided an opportunity for organized governmental action for rural housing. Regional and river valley projects such as the Ghab project in Syria, have implied rural housing programs within the framework of the project as a whole. Without land reform and related settlement programs, rural housing in these countries might not have been undertaken at all at this time. The provision of rural housing in land reform areas is expected to reduce migration to

(39) United Nations, Studies on Social Development in the Middle East 1969 (UN: New York) 1970, p. 7

urban centres and improve health and family relationships.

The accomplishments in providing rural housing, however, are still far from being adequate. The failure to achieve a break through in rural housing can be attributed to the lack of availability of public or private financing. Although, land reform programs will eventually increase rural per capita incomes, yet, the financing for rural housing is heavily dependent on public or semi-public organized efforts to make the necessary credit available.

6. Social Services and Training

Land reform projects and land settlement schemes in this region do not place much emphasis on the development of the human factor. Social services, especially medical care, schools and extending education to beneficiaries and their families, are still lacking. Therefor, there has not been much change in their living conditions and most of them still cling to old ideas and beliefs. Not much emphasis has been given to encourage handcrafts and small industries to absorb much of the under employment; although some efforts have been made in Syria to train girls and women in broidery, sewing and carpet making(40). In addition, about SL 880,000 appeared in Syria's plan to be directly allocated to community development and were earmarked for community development centers and rural carpet centers(41). In Iraq, nine rural centers were established in the beginning of 1967. Yet, inspite of the vital role which such centers may play in improving the living conditions of the rural people, their activities are practically nil because of lack of trained personnel.

As to farmers' training, various ministries and departments are making continuous efforts in preparing professionals for the task of training farmers. This includes pre-service training for the graduates of the agricultural high schools, fellowships for the administrative staff of the departments of cooperatives and to field

(40) Hammouda, op. cit., 1966, p. 44

(41) United Nations, Studies on Social Development in the Middle East 1969, p.5.

supervisors for training abroad. In 1967, the Ministry of Education had 14 agricultural high schools, one in each province, and 18 fundamental education schools scattered all over the country. The former group provides the students with the necessary knowledge and training to enable them work in the field; while the latter group offers the normal education program in addition to training programs in handicraft. In addition to these schools, the Ministry of Education has a wide program to combat illiteracy in the country. The two faculties of agriculture, at Abu Ghraib and Mousel, had an enrollment of about 2000 students who received training in various fields of agriculture. Graduates of these faculties now hold key posts in both the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Agrarian Reform. The Training Institute for Cooperatives and Extension plays an important role in providing the various provinces with qualified cooperative workers. Between 1961-66 the Institute offered 14 different training courses in which 63 officials and about 700 members representing 227 cooperative societies participated. The Cooperative Training Research and Agricultural Extension Institute offered, during 1963-1966, three training courses to about 300 supervisors and one training course to 150 members of the Managing Committees of Cooperatives(42). Nevertheless, more efforts needs to be made to improve the quality of training and adapting it to the farmers' needs. In Syria, a Special Fund Project has started recently to train community development workers. The training of the professionals will eventually contribute to the training of the farmers' group who are expected in the long run to be more receptive to accepting new ideas and new ways of life.

7. Rural-Urban Migration

In the countries of this region, the system of land ownership may be considered as one of the main reasons for rural-urban migration. In addition, the unemployment, the under employment, the low wages, the poor living conditions, and the lack of necessary services, such as schools, health clinics and physicians, are all considered factors which may often "push" rural people away from their communities. Land reform policies are suppose to suppress rural migration by providing a secure tenure, either as a long

(42) Hammouda, op. cit., pp. 46-47

term or as an owner, for a relatively large number of rural families; thus tying them to the land and inhibit their mobility.

Since the exact effects of land reform on rural-urban migration are difficult to evaluate, it can be said, however, that it has continued in both Syria and Iraq, inspite of the measures taken to inhibit it. The rural population of Syria has declined both absolutely and as a ratio even though the potentially cultivable land is relatively abundant. The available estimates show that the active population in agriculture (rural and urban) declined from about 600,000 to 587,000 between 1960 and 1961 and to 564,000 by 1963. The respective percentages range between 50 and 45 percent of the total gainfully occupied population(43) In Iraq, which is also favourably endowed with cultivable land, an increasing absolute rural population has been maintained, but there has been a decline in the relative significance of the agricultural population. In 1957, Iraq had 4.101 million rural people or 63% of the total population, compared with 4.614 million in 1965 or 55.8% of the total population(44) Some minor efforts have been started in a number of Syrian villages to overcome the underemployment through introducing small industries, but their effect on rural-urban migration have been limited.

B. Economic Effects

1. Increase in Agricultural Land

Land reform measures in the countries studied have succeeded in increasing the area of their cultivated land substantially. As it was mentioned earlier in this report(45), the land reform programs in Syria and Iraq should ultimately provide 12.7 and seven million donums of agricultural land respectively. Iraq, in addition, was able to increase its area under cultivation by about 13 million donums through the establishment of various irrigation schemes. On the other hand,

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(43) Elias H. Tuma, "Agrarian Reform and Urbanization in the Middle East". The Middle East Journal, Vol. 24, No. 2, Spring 1970, p. 169.

(44) Ibid.

(45) See especially pp. 16-20 for additional information

Jordan and Lebanon were able to reclaim about 750,000 donums of land respectively and put it under cultivation. Furthermore, Jordan was able to increase its area of irrigated land substantially as a result of the execution of the East Ghor Canal Project. Statistics have indicated that the amount of irrigable land which has been put under intensive irrigation in the East Ghor area of Jordan has increased from 25,256 donums pre-canal to 103,029 donums of irrigable land post-canal(46).

2. Increase in Income and Agricultural Production*

Under land reform programs, an increase in farmers' income is expected as a result of redistribution of land ownership, fixing rents below the market value, eliminating of intermediaries, providing tenants and new owners with better credit facilities at lower rates of interest and organizing cooperative marketing system. However, no empirical studies, particularly for Syria and Iraq, are available to assess this increase in income objectively. In some Syrian agrarian villages, beneficiaries admitted an increase in their income(47) In Jordan, though, there is a strong empirical evidence which showed the impact of the East Ghor Canal Project on the incomes of the farmers living in the area. To depict such an impact, the results of four studies made on income are summarized in Table 6 below.

Increase in agricultural production is, also, impossible to assess due to the absence of data, especially for Syria and Iraq. Though, the land which was put under cultivation for the main crops in these two countries has increased, for example in Syria from 5.4 million hectars in 1958 to 6.65 million hectars in 1964(52), it is questionable that the production as a result of agrarian reform has increased.

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(46) Abdul Wahhab Awwad, Increased Number of Donums of Irrigable Lands Post-Canal, Amman: Mimeographed dated February 20, 1967, p. 2.

* For a more detailed discussion on output and income see Hammadi, op. cit., pp. 7-12 and Salah Dabbagh, "Agrarian Reform in Syria". Middle East Economic Papers, Economic Research Institute, American University of Beirut, 1962, pp. 10-14.

(47) Hammadi, Ibid., p. 12

(52) Ministry of Planning, Statistical Abstracts of 1958 and 1964 (Damascus:Syria) p. 247 and p. 275 respectively.

Table 6. Gross and net incomes for the East Ghor Canal Project, per farm and per d unum (in J.Ds.)

Item	1953[48]	1959/60[49]	1964/65[50]	1965/66[51]
For the Whole Project				
Gross income	1,219,977	781,199	2,795,715	3,372,876
Net income	294,015	466,272	1,265,004	1,591,902
Per Farm Unit				
Gross income	319	234	836	975
Net income	77	140	378	460
Per Donum				
Gross income	4.7	3.7	23.9	28.8
Net income	1.1	2.2	10.8	13.6

(48) UNRWA, op. cit., 1954, pp. 23-24, 44.

(49) Department of Statistics, The East Jordan Valley, a Social and Economic Survey, Amman: Department of Statistics, 1961, pp. 219, 250, 254.

(50) Agricultural Division, United States Agency for International Development, Agricultural Production and Income in the East Ghor Canal Project, Amman: Mimeographed, 1966, p. 19.

(51) Agricultural Division, United States Agency for International Development, Agricultural Production and Income in the East Ghor Canal Project, Amman: Mimeographed, 1967, pp. 24.

One needs data about production in agrarian reform areas over a number of years in order to be able to trace any increase in yield. The situation in the East Ghor Canal Project area of Jordan, however, is somewhat different. The available data show a sizable increase in the agricultural production in the area. During 1965/66 crop year, the production was 108,380 tons as compared to only 60,989 tons for the year 1953. It also constituted an increase of 12 percent over the production of the preceeding year 1964/65(53). Hence, it can be safely inferred that the tendency for agricultural production in the East Ghor area is rising; thus contributing to the increase in the total agricultural production of Jordan.

Generally speaking, total production in the short run is not expected to increase as a consequence of drastic land reform measures, such as those implemented in Syria and Iraq. This mainly due to the abrupt disturbance in the social and economic structures; and because of the need of adjustment of other agricultural development institutions created to cope with agrarian problems of land reforms. In the beginning, shortages in trained personnel, scarcity of capital, limited funds for credit, and lack of experience would impede any increase in production. Though an increase in individual's income may be realized, as previously discussed, it does not follow that an increase in total production must take place. In the long run, when the tenant becomes finally an owner, and when major institutional adjustments have taken place, total production may increase, and the contribution of agriculture to national income may become significant.

It is needless to say, therefore, that no program of social and economic change, such as land reform, is expected to be implemented without any problems and issues. These problems will be high-lighted in the section below, with a view to helping national planners assess the situation more realistically in order to safe-guard future efforts in reforming land from any possible pitfalls. In addition to high-lighting some of the major problems, few recommendations for future action will be offered.

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(53) Malallah, op. cit., p. 164

V. Problems Encountered and Recommendations for Future Action

It has been shown that among the main purposes of undertaking land reform measures were: accomplishing an equal distribution of agricultural wealth; alleviating social injustices in peasant societies and economic growth. However, many problems were encountered as the experience of Syria and Iraq revealed. Political goals, at least at the early stages of reform, have taken priority over sound economic and technical planning. Reform started in the absence of socio-economic surveys of the farmers' situations. Data about soil conditions, topography and other physical aspects of the land were lacking. The great emphasis on the development of certain institutions, such as cooperatives has led, especially in the absence of conscientious and qualified personnel, to a high speed in meeting the expectations of top politicians without, in fact, actual realization of those institutions. While cooperatives were being formed by the hundreds every year, their viability is questioned. In fact, beneficiaries of land reform in Syria and Iraq must join cooperatives that are highly controlled by administrative measures. While such a policy may be wise at the beginning of reform when marketing problems occur and credit and capital are scarce, it might be detrimental in the long run to the development of viable cooperatives, self-sustained managers of owned farms, and responsible citizenry. Another major problem faced was the shortage in the number and quality of personnel. Reform was on the move before the necessary supporting institutions were either created or ready to take active part. Extension departments which play a great role in disseminating technical information to farmers and in persuading them to adopt the best methods for agricultural production were, and still are, lacking the qualified personnel and funds. Cooperative supervisors need further training in handling simple accounts and other related functions. Problems of credit supply have been occuring, and funds allocated for such a purpose are very limited and credit supervision seems to be inefficient. A great deal of the loans are being spent on consumption rather than production, and problems of collecting these loans are being faced. In fact a basic difficulty arises from the lack of faith and confidence on the part of the peasants in government efforts. Peasants considered the land either as a gift or as a rented plot. In either case,

they wanted to get the maximum yield out of it, and when such yields were collected by cooperatives for marketing and for deducting members' loans, farmers resorted to the practice of stealing part of the crops as they think their crops were being confiscated. The problem is basically a lack of understanding of the purposes of reform, a lack of participation of the people in cooperatives, and a lack of settlement of titles to the land in some cases. Further detriments to the smooth functioning and success of land reform lies in the administrative machinery which is permeated by routine, lack of coordination, repeated transfers, conflicting duties, putting postgraduates in different departments without consideration of specialization; and, above all, politicalization of the administration. The administrative problem is actually a problem of the whole developing world.

In order to minimize the effects of some of these problems and to help speed up the process of economic growth, the following guidelines seem useful:

1. Land reform to be successful must involve a general comprehensive plan for agricultural development which takes into consideration the whole agrarian structure and which is based on reliable and sufficient information. In addition, planners must forsee that there are a number of ingredients that must be correctly blended in land reform areas if highly sustained yields are to be achieved. Thus, due consideration must be given to such items as mechanization, improved seeds, fertilizers, plant protection materials, credit and agricultural information. Rapid increase in production is, in essence, dependent on an informed and educated farmers coupled with essential " agricultural inputs" and proper services.

2. To overcome lack of people's confidence and faith in the government, a general policy of diffusing information as to the purposes of reform and cooperatives would be needed. This may be done by cooperative supervisors if instructed and trained to do so. Other measures such as settlement of titles and deeds to the land, which seems to be moving slowly, needs to be enhanced. In cases where farmers are still tenants, issuing them contracts which state that

after a certain number of years the farmer becomes owner of that parcel may be desirable. In cases where farmers receive their share of land along with others in a sort of communal way, it is more desirable if titles are settled at the time of distribution. Though this may retard the speed of distribution, it will certainly increase the productivity as one would know his physical boundaries and would gain a sense of belonging to a specific piece of land which is his.

3. A more efficient system of extending credit needs to be developed. Greater funds need to be allocated and more efficient supervision must be taken.

4. A great effort for improving the extension department must be done. Substantial increase in the number of qualified personnel must be made and sound programs developed.

5. Further training of cooperative supervisors is needed in basic things such as accounting, book-keeping, and basic cooperative principles. Participation of the people in the activities of the cooperatives must be emphasized if the development of viable cooperatives is to be realized in the future.

6. Training institutions for these purposes need to be created if not already available, and need to be further developed to give sound training to a greater number.

7. Reliable statistical information should be present always. In addition, impirical investigations are needed in order to assess accurately the role of landreform in community development and overall social and economic development in the countries of the region. No study has been made yet on the subject to cover the whole country in which land reform is being practiced. The few studies available on the subject are limited in scope and cover only specific projects; thus, they can not be depended on for describing the situation as a whole.

8. Efforts should be done in the way of land consolidation rather than land fragmentation. In places where there are differences in soil quality, the beneficiary should be given a bigger piece that accounts for the difference rather than two or three pieces of different soil types as the practice is.
9. Finally the administrative machinery needs reform. Qualified personnel, elimination of politics from administrative positions and coordination are very basic for the success of land reform programs.

VI. Conclusions

Land reform is not an end in itself; it is a mean to an end, namely changing the social and the economic structures of the countries of the region in order to facilitate their agricultural development and economic growth. The pitfall which many social reformers and some intellectuals, though, encounter is their tendency to assume that such changes should be easy to realize and that the mere change in law should automatically bring about the cherished changes in the economic and social life of the peasants concerned. This report has illustrated clearly that this has not been always the case, particularly in situations were radical and more drastic land reforms have been taken. At least three explanations for that may be advanced: (1) social progress requires favorable reactions on the part of those directly affected by it and their willingness to take advantage of the newly arising situation. It would be wrong to assume that as long as an institutional reforms carries with it a firm advantage to the farmers, a favorable reaction should be necessarily expected. This is not true as practical experience in reforming countries, such as Syria and Iraq, has shown us. The rational self interest calculating character is far from being dominant in these countries. In addition, peasants are not yet psychologically prepared and ready to accept such institutional reforms. In order for the individual to adapt to the new situation, a psychological adjustment involving changes in habits of thought and behavior should, therefore, take place; (2) to facilitate social and economic growth, certain entrepreneurship requirements have to be met. It would be futile to expect the new owners, especially at the early stages of reform, to supply themselves with the sound planning and the basic requisites needed for

maximizing their production. The evils of absentee and petty landlordism which have existed before the reform necessitates the provision of government help and support to the new owners and without such a support not much changes can be expected to take place and the problem of "absentee beneficiaries" might become acute. It has been shown in this report that governments in the countries studied are not adequately providing for the basic ingredients needed to up-lift the reform measures and bring them into fruition, thus minimizing the positive impacts which they should actually have. Finally, (3) the prevailing social setting and social structure can have a tremendous impact on the ability of land reform measures to induce the desired changes. The influence of tribal chiefs on the planners' ability to implement such measures effectively has been demonstrated for both Syria and Iraq. Such cheifs were also the landlords, and peasants who tilled their lands were not in a position to break down the old ties which they had with those landlords even after they became land owners. Thus, the enactment of a radical land reform, with all the political difficulties involved and the distribution of land among the beneficiaries may prove to be comparatively easier than its effective implementation. Very often, there is a wide gap between the intentions of the law and the actualities which persist.

Though, land reform measures in this region may not be considered successful, at least at this stage, it is hoped that, in the long run, they will make a real contribution to community development and to overall social and economic development of the countries by which such measures have been implemented.